

MR. R. SUTTON, CHIEF REPORTER.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1849

[Proceedings Continued.]

PLAYING SESSIONS

CORRECTION.—The brief remarks of Mr. A. K. Marshall, delivered on Tuesday evening, December 11, as published in the volume of debates page 929, do not correctly convey that gentleman's views. They should read as follows:

I am pretty well satisfied with the present constitution on the subject of slavery, and still prefer the proposition now offered. The present clause, which is proposed by the gentleman from Christian, gives to the legislature the right to prevent the importation of slaves into this state, except by *bona fide* immigrants. I am opposed to this, and wish to exempt from legislative action, such as citizens of Kentucky may become possessed of by gift, inheritance, marriage or devise. Again, sir, it will allow the subject of slavery to be agitated. It affords a legal constitutional mode of emancipation, and those who choose to press that dangerous question are not agitators, but benefactors. I desire to secure the rights of the citizen, and to deny them any such right under this constitution, and shall therefore, oppose the proposition of the gentleman from Christian.

Mr. JACKSON submitted to the convention plan for the apportionment of representation and on his motion it was ordered to be printed and laid on the table.

After the year 1850, and every eighth year thereafter, an enumeration shall be made of all the qualified voters of the state. The house of representatives shall consist of one hundred members, and all, at each enumeration, the electors of which are in several counties of the state; such manner that each county having the ratio of representation, shall have one representative; and each county having double the ratio shall have two, and so on. All qualified electors shall be considered as residuums, and shall be apportioned among the counties in such manner, that the county having the largest residuum in the state, shall have attached to it adjoining counties having the next highest residuum in the state, shall likewise receive adjoining residuums, until the ratio is obtained, and so on, until all residuums are counted. *Proviso.*—If the number of the smallest residuums shall be taken first, and so on, in succession, until the ratio desired shall be completed; and the county from which, in this order the last number shall be taken, shall be considered as having lost by the necessary number of withdrawal.

NATIVE AMERICANISM.

The convention proceeded to the consideration of the resolutions offered this morning by Mr. DAVIS, which were then made the special order for this afternoon.

Mr. DAVIS, Mr. President: The resolution on this subject, which I submitted to the convention at an early day of its session, has been long suspended, as to have lost in a good degree its animation. The truth is, that I now feel somewhat awkward on this subject, and before my avowal to debate it, so distinctly made about that time, I should not at this late day obtrude myself upon the time and patience of this body. But, omitting to discuss the subject, I should not be less a Native American, if I were to attempt the non-debate. I will elaborate examination of it. However, I will proceed; and before I resume my seat, I will endeavor to revive the life and interest of my proposition.

Mr. President, in asking the attention of the convention and the country to this subject, I was no part of my purpose to win any notoriety or any popular favor, general or party, or to endeavor to make it the means of reaching any office or distinction whatever. Were I possessed of youth and strength, it is possible I might have connected such vaunting hopes with it; but I feel an inexplicable consciousness that my years are to be so few, as to constrain me to take a view of things more personal and more soler, and

Since my first examination of the masters involved in this contentious question, I have been a Native American; and during eight years of service in congress, I was pledged, and understood ready to vote for any extension of the time which is required to entitle the naturalized foreigner to the right of suffrage. The reason why I did not move upon the subject myself, was, not through conviction, during the whole period that in congress I would do no good to the cause immediate or prospective, by bringing it before

But, I was firmly resolved, if the time should ever come, and I should be thrown upon a State where the effort would seem more practical, and the auspices more favorable, I would go to Kentucky, and call my countrymen to what I deemed to be the greatest question of the day. I believe that time and that theatre are now here. I know that the number of foreigners in Kentucky is small, when compared with other States; but they are yet numerous and rapidly increasing, particularly on the line of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; and there is wisdom in the old proverb: "an ounce of preventive is better than

If, indeed, such a provision in the constitution, its influence will not only pervade the whole state government and policy; it will have a small but direct influence upon congress, in the election of our representatives in that body; and it will operate with great moral power upon other states, especially when they go to amend their constitution for the sake of their constitution. Has not the state itself, and is not this body not acting under the power of similar examples? Who, five years ago, in Kentucky, was there to advocate the principle of the judges of court being elected by popular vote; and if no state had yet adopted this system, would it not have been the new law in our constitution? Would it not be reasonable to conclude that the example of Kentucky, deciding and incorporating as a fundamental provision in her constitution, that her government belonged to her, and should be administered by her native born sons, and not by foreigners, and have a more potent and salutary influence upon our sister states?

I presume, Mr. President, there can be no doubt upon the point of our competency and right to

upon this subject; and also of our duty to act upon it, if by so doing we can effect any essential good for the country. Congress has the power and has passed naturalization laws; and it has been assumed that it would infringe the rights of the foreigners, who have been naturalized in conformity to the provisions of those laws, if we should attempt to place other additional restrictions to their exercise of the right of suffrage in the state governments. It appears to me that this position is wholly fallacious and untenable. The states have the right to confer upon foreigners the elective franchise, and to make it as eligible to them as to the native-born citizens. They have the right to naturalize, and they have the undoubted power to exclude them, although they have become citizens of the United States; because such citizenship confers upon them only the rights of that government, conceded by the federal constitution, and not a single one unduly withheld from naturalized citizens of the United States, the right to vote, has been often exercised, and is now in practical operation in many of them—indirectly in declaring the payment of taxes, being a householder, owning property, &c., &c., as qualification. But in many states, and in Kentucky, the higher power is exercised of excluding the naturalized citizen from the more important right of eligibility to certain offices for long terms. A man must have been a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the state, for a certain number of years, to be eligible to the office of governor, lieutenant governor, or senator. The states are sovereign in forming and administering their own governments. They may deny to naturalized foreigners, wholly, the right of suffrage, and the privilege of holding office; or they may confer it, as to the latter, with such additional restrictions, as, to time and other circumstances, as they may will.

They have often circumvented and denied these rights to their own native-born citizens, and it would be preposterous to assume they had not the same power over persons born in the United States. The right of citizenship is limited to citizenship under the government of the United States. The point in debate is a question of expediency and policy only, and not of power; and as such, I freely admit, it should not be exercised without grave and sufficient reason, of which the people and the conventions of the states, alone, have the right to judge. I have submitted, and I have submitted, I derive no man of any right which belongs to him, be it perfect or inchoate; for it concedes to all foreigners who now have the right of suffrage, or who have taken the first step towards naturalization, or who may hereafter be brought as minors to the United States, that right which the United States has never enjoyed. We have 250,000,000 of population. As relates to the government and people of the United States, all now have the right to come to our country, and millions upon millions of them will come. If all the male adult population of Europe have tested and perfect right, on reaching our shores to be admitted, after making no other claim, they would have the right to share all the political sovereignty, rights, and offices of all the states, each one of all the teeming millions across the Atlantic, now resident not only in Europe, but in Asia and Australasia, and all the isles of the sea, if not in Africa, have also the same right, it is true, imperfect and conditional, but the same. In the universe, the right of citizenship was ever before heard of so expansive and ramified a right, spreading over so many countless millions, not of the living only, but of their multitudinous posterity for all time, of all climes and countries, races and colors, languages, religions, and hereditary customs, and, in short, of all that the human mind can conceive. No foreigner has any right to any portion of the political sovereignty of a country in which he may choose to make his residence, except so far as it may be given to him by the people and government of that country; and then only to the extent, and for the time, that he may choose to reside. Congress might rightfully repeal all laws for the naturalization of foreigners, and refuse to enact any others.

Having said these preliminary remarks, Mr. President, I state the fact that Native Americanism is not an indigenous sentiment among the people of the United States "several generations and has the weight of illustrious names to sustain it." To repel, in some degree, the imputations cast upon it, that it originated in small affairs moved by selfish aims among individuals, I will read to you the convention a few extracts. First, from a letter addressed to Gov. Morris, dated White Plains, July 24, 1788:

"Baron Steuben, I now find, is also wanting to quit his inspectorship, for he is going to the West Indies; which is very pre-judicial of much discontent. In a word, though I think the baron is an excellent officer, I do most devoutly wish we had not a single foreigner amongst us except the Marquis de Lafayette, who can do no harm, & Nov. 19, 1786."

From another, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 17, 1794, and addressed to John Adams, the elder:

"My opinion with respect to immigration is except of useful mechanics, and some particular professions, and professions, there is need of encouragement."

A letter dated from his residence, Jan. 20, 1790, in reply to a letter applying for office, has this passage:

"It does not accord with the policy of this government, to bestow offices, civil, or military upon foreigners, to the exclusion of our citizens."

These extracts are taken from letters, written by the father of his country, George Washington, the first from amidst the conflicts of our war of independence and the other whilst he was president, and in his life by Sparks, will not only be found, but several others, with passages on the same subject, of equal distinctness and force.

I will not do the sentiments of another on the subject of foreign immigration:

"Civil government, being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be confined to the number of its members. Every society has its specific principles. Our government has those principles. Our people are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right, or natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Every subject is a freeman, and the great number of immigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stand peculiarly in their manners and principles. They will surely go with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us in the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, war and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to experience during the past years, for the truth of these assertions. But if they be not certain in event, are they not possible? are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience twenty-seven years and three months longer for the attainment of any degree of population desired, or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more

Thus speaks Mr. Jefferson in his notes on Virginia. I presume that these two men of deathless names, had quite as much patriotism and wisdom as any clamorous advocate of the foreigner in this convention; and it might be safely assumed, that what they believed to be wise and

wholesome, could not prove very pernicious. In the terrible throes of our revolutionary struggle, and when our young institutions were in their cradle, and the country contained a population of less than a million, protection against the influx of Indian immigrants, and the dangers they decreed and condemned a heavy foreign immigration; and Mr. Jefferson said with a thorough philosophical and practical knowledge of man, they would bring with them the maxims of despotism, "a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass." If we wanted more numbers, he invoked us to await the slower, but so much more safe principle of natural increase, rather than hazard the more rapid, with which foreign immigration was fraught.

[illegible]

I freely acknowledge, that among such masses of immigrants, there are men of noble intellect, of high cultivation, and of great moral worth—men every way adequate to the difficult task of free, popular, and constitutional government. There can be no contradiction between the fact and the incompetent and visionary; and their admission would give no proper compensation, no adequate security against the latter, if they, too, were allowed to share political sovereignty. The country could be governed just as wisely and as well by the native-born citizens alone, by white men, as by the colored immigrants.

At home, Mr. President, before I close, I make a more particular application of these general views to the points of my proposition and in the meantime, as having a general, but important and interesting bearing upon it, I will present some statements and tables of immigration and population, the most recent and authentic that I have been able to command from the limited sources of information within my reach. Though by no means full and entirely satisfactory, this examination has convinced me that the great body of the people, and indeed of intelligent men, have no information or belief, approximating the truth, of the fearful and growing magnitude of the colored immigration, of the poverty and pauperism, of their ignorance and demoralization, and of the crimes and crimes of very many of them, and of the enormous frauds which, through them, are perpetrated upon the elective franchise. At least such was my situation, and to the mass of the American people, this whole subject seems

In 1790, the white population in the United States was 3,172,164. The rate of increase ascertained by the latest and most reliable calculations, upon the principle of compound increase is about 2.39 per cent. by which the population would have increased to more than four millions in 1840. Make an estimate by this rate upon 29 years, and in 1840 there was a white population of 11,104,659. But the census returns show a white population of 14,189,218, in 1840; so that there were over three millions more than were accounted for by persons, immigrants and their progeny. During the decennial period indicated by each of the named years following, present the aggregate number of immigrants: 1800, 10,000; 1810, 25,000; 1820, 49,471; 1830, 82,049. Since 1840, the rate and aggregate of increase has been greatly beyond any prior period. These numbers here given, I presume are made up from the custom house returns; for the last ten years, I have had the opportunity of being enabled to get the custom house returns for two years only since 1840; that of 1846 showing 158,618, and 1847 an increase on the former year of about 47 per cent, and an aggregate of 239,256. No returns are made by any ships from the bay and river, or from the coast of the State of New Jersey. It is well known that a great many vessels neglect to make any returns; and also that most of the immigrants who land

provinces into Quebec, come through the British colonies into the United States. The great number of timber ships which sail annually from England to Quebec, afford large and cheap facilities to the immigrants by that voyage, and the census returns of 1850 and 1860 have estimated that one fourth of the immigrants to the United States, are either through the British provinces, or through our ports and not reported; and the actual white population reported upon each general return of the census, and the custom-house numbers, shows this estimate to be untrue. I have, however made some prospective estimates upon the supposition that 20 per cent. of the annual immigrants through all channels were not comprehended in the census, these estimates, however, I estimate, the total white population of the United States in 1850 to be the rise of 21,000,000, of which upwards of 5,000,000 will be foreigners by birth, being about one fourth. Thirty years ago only about forty of our population were slaves, to be of four-fifths of the population in five, and the disproportion is rapidly decreasing. Take 158,648, the custom house returns in 1846, and 20 per cent. to it for immigrants not reported, and upon the product put 47 per cent, the actual rate of increase upon the custom-house returns of the year 1846, and you will have 287,404 for the total of 1847, and for 1848 total 322,656; and by continuing the calculation for 1849 total 620,122, and 1850, total 912,042, the rate of increase may not continue, and the census returns of last year may not be so large; otherwise the world around us, looks to estimate that 5,000,000 of foreigners in the country in the year 1850. But 620,122 immigrants for the year 1849, when the custom house returns shall be made out, and 20 per cent. added to their aggregate numbers will probably be seen a statement that the immigrants from the port of Bremen, for the past year, exceeded 56,000; and of something like the same number from Liverpool, that four-fifths of them were Germans. The same rate of increase would bring immigrants to the country in 1851, 1,240,000, in 1852, 1,858,664, and in 1853, 2,477,288, and 1854, 3,188,664. So that it becomes obvious that this rate of increase cannot continue through many years. Nevertheless the increase will be steady, great, and continuous—and I believe may be safely assumed at more than 1,000,000 persons in 1850, and 2,000,000 in 1860. Upon this hypothesis I assume the total population of the United States in 1860, will be 36,696,178, of which, allowing for their decreasing death, about 14,000,000 will be foreigners by birth; and the slaves being then about 4,000,000 persons, the white population will make nearly one-half of the aggregate population of the United States. The census returns of 1870, will unquestionably exhibit the native white population to be less than the foreigners and the slaves united, a state of fact which must fill every per-

This view of the subject is now generally corroborated by a glance at the state of things in Europe. The aggregate population of that continent, in 1807, was 183,000,000. Some years since it was reported to be 200,000,000, and now it is reasonably but little short of 233,000,000. The population of Britain and Ireland is about forty years of 100,000,000. The area of Europe is but little more than that of the United States, and from its higher northern position, and greater property in sterile lands, has a less natural capability of sustaining population. All her western, southern, and middle states labor under one of the heaviest burdens of population, and have a redundant population. The German states have upwards of 70,000,000, and Ireland 8,000,000—all Germany being not larger than three of our largest states, and Ireland about the size of Kentucky. Daniel O'Connell, in 1843, reported that of the population of Germany, one-third was destitute. The annual increase of population in Germany and Ireland is, in the aggregate near 2,000,000; and in all Europe it is near 7,000,000. Large masses of this people, in many countries, not only want the comforts of life, but the necessaries of existence. In England, and, literally, everywhere, the German states, the Germans, the Swiss, and other governments, have put into operation extensive and well arranged systems of emigrating and transporting to America their excess of population, and particularly the refuse, the paupers, the demoralized and the degraded. They have sent to America their artisans, and go to labor steadily and thrifflily. They send to their friends in the old country true and glowing accounts of ours, and with it the means which they have garnered here, to bring, too, those friends. Thus, immigration it is, the great means of our material and moral betterment, its swelling tide. Suppose such mighty convulsion of nature should loosen Europe, the smaller country from her ocean deep foundations, and drift her to our coast, would we be ready to take her teeming myriads to our fraternal embrace, and give them equally our political and moral freedom? Would we not rather, where would be the noble Anglo American race where their priceless heritage of liberty, where their free constitution, where the best and brightest hopes of men? All would have perished! It is true all Europe is not coming to us, and we need not be much, too much of it is a dangerous and disposable surplus, ignorant and worst of it, without bringing us any territory for them—enough, if they go on increasing and to increase, and are to share with us our power, to bring about such a deplorable result. The question is, shall they come and take possession of our territory, or shall we, as a nation, rule us, or will we, who have the right, rule them and ourselves? I go openly, manfully and perseveringly for the latter rule, and if I cannot be successfully asserted in all the United States, I am for taking measures to maintain it in Kentucky, and while we em. Now is the time

The governments of Europe know better than we do that they have a great excess of population. They feel more intensely its great and manifold evils, and for years they have been devising and applying correctives, which have been mainly resolved into one—to drain off into the colonies, demoralized, and vicious population. By doing so, they not only make more room and comfort for the residue, but they think—and with some truth—that they provide for their own security, and do something to avert explosions which might hurl kings from their thrones. They have sent the invincible and inviolable, the mighty Corsican on the field of Waterloo, and him safe on the rock of St. Helena, these crowned tyrants of Europe, impudently denominated the "holy alliance," had a breathing time, and they began to cast around themselves to devise means to attack, indirectly, slowly and surely, the great Republic, which they regarded as a popular government, which they not unreasonably concluded had been the primary cause of the tremendous assaults which men, in their struggles to free themselves from the slavery of centuries, had made against their despotic thrones. Hear what the Duke of Richmond said on this

The following language of the Duke of Richmond, while Governor of the Canadas, and is reported by Mr. L. G. Gates, of Montreal, who was present, when it was uttered:

"The Duke, a short time prior to his death in speaking of the government of the United States, said: "it was weak, inconsistent, and bad, and could not long exist." "It will be destroyed; it ought not, and will not be permitted to exist; for many and great are the evils that have originated from the existence of that government. The curse of the French revolution and subsequent wars and commotions in Eu-

people, are to be attributed to its example; and so long as it exists, no prince will be safe upon his throne; and the sovereigns of Europe are aware of it, and they have been determined upon its destruction, and have come to an understanding upon this subject, and have decided on the means of effecting it; and they will *ultimately succeed by subversion rather than conquest.* (A) The low and surplus population of the different nations of Europe will be carried into that country; it will and will be a receptacle for the bad and dissatisfied population of Europe, when they are discharged of their soldiers, to supply the place of the European numbers, and to favor such a course. This will create a surplus and a majority of low population, who are so very easily excited; and they will bring with them their principles, and in nine cases out of ten, adhere to the religion and former governments, laws, manners, customs, and usages of the countries which they brought them from; and they will impart them to their posterity, and in many cases propagate them among the natives. These men will become citizens, and by the constitution and laws will be invested with the right of suffrage, and the different grades of society will then be created by the different degrees of civilization, and thus a heterogeneous population will be formed, speaking different languages, and of different religions and settlements, and to make them act, think, and feel as one people, political affairs, will be like mixing oil and water, and the result will be confusion, anarchy, and civil war will ensue, and the European individual will assume the government, and restore order, and the sovereigns of Europe, the immigrants, and many of the natives will sustain on that count the Church of Rome has a design upon it, and at some future time, be the established religion, and will have the sanction of that republic." "I have conversed with many of the sovereigns and princes of Europe, and they have unanimously expressed these opinions relative to the government of the United States, and their determination to subvert it."

Schlegel was a learned historian, and professor of history in Vienna, and high in favor with the Emperor of Austria. At the close of one of his public lectures in that capital, against free governments, he declared:—"The true nursery of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary spirit of France, and the rest of Europe, has been the North American States. They have spread over many lands, either by natural contagion, or by arbitrary communication." About the same time, Francis, the Emperor of Austria, at the instigation of that arch-minister of despotism, Metternich, and with the co-operation of the other allied sovereigns, established "the League of Nations," the object of which was "to promote emigration, and to have the clergy and the catholic missions to the United States." To send out the civil and religious despotism of Europe to supplant the principles which Schlegel denominated as destructive, and which made kings tremble upon their thrones. That same emperor proclaimed:—"As long as I live, I will not permit the progress of liberal and democratic principles. The present generation of men, we must labor with zeal and earnestness to improve the spirit of that which is to come. It may require an hundred years; I am not unreasonable—I give you a whole age, but you must work without relaxation." You see those men know that the popular institutions in this country are not to be destroyed by direct operations, or by direct attacks; but they expect to destroy it by other modes; by sending forth in alliance the agents of civil and religious despotism, and only by such means in the course of ages; and they look to it patiently, as a distant but certain

colonisation. The Government of England had, preferably co-operated with the monarchs of the Continent, in putting down Bonaparte; and but for the unconquerable fortitude and courage of those "bull-dog Islanders," the work had probably never been done. The Government had reduced to co-operation in the scheme, the island nations, whose qualities were devising, and drew off from them. The long slumbering energies of Spain had been deeply stirred, by Napoleon driving Ferdinand to Bayona, and placing in his stead his brother Louis. The nation, which had seen Spain revived in transient splendor, and the Castilian again buckling on his ancient armor, drove South and the legions of France from the Peninsula, and the miscreant tyrant, Ferdinand, fled to his exile. His country, which passively having been re-awakened, it would, not passively and at once fail to sleep again in the numbing embrace of despotism. The regenerated Spaniards convoked a Cortes, and began to reform the despotic institutions. Ferdinand himself resisted, and was the cause of his own people, driven into exile. He called upon the holy alliance for succor, and they assigned the work of his restoration to Louis XVIII, whom he was so lately restored. The Duke of Angoulême came, and the Cortes, which had been well appointed army—all resistance was put down, after obstinate and bloody combat—Ferdinand was brought back, and even the throne

liberty-system, from the Pyrenees to the ocean, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, had lost more than half his possessions by the violence of the revolution in Spain; and the South American possessors of Mexico and the allied sovereigns of Europe to re-conquer those countries for him, and to bring them back under his galling yoke. They were ready to go to the bloody work, but at that momentous crisis, upon which the destinies of the world were at stake, England and the United States united in council, in policy and purpose, and declared to the allied powers and to mankind, that in such a war, such a crusade by them against the Spanish-American Republics and their liberties, that cause would be made the cause of them, the glorious cause of liberty, of civilisation, of civilisation! desisted from its diabolical and bloody scheme; and England and America stood gloriously before the world as the bulwarks of civil and religious freedom. Their noble intervention was not more generous and humane than it was wise and timely, because the fall of the liberty and equality would have been but the precursor of the fall of civilisation, and the *propaganda* power of the civil and religious absolutism of Europe, were even then meditating upon the spiritual and political freedom of England and America—for though England had so much less than us, still she had a priceless amount, a

her mother's robes of Etruscan purple and Italian gold, and her hair of England's gold, and her heart with her mirth of affection, gratitude, and reverence. She has oppressed and wronged her daughter, but that account is long since settled, and I trust forever. We have inherited from her much of our best blood, our language, most of our religion, and some of our best principles, many of the most valuable principles of human liberty. She commenced to rear her fabric of freedom, as it exists, in the reign of her John at the beginning of the thirteenth century. She has, at distant intervals, added to the proportion of her good, and she has been increasing it, though on according to her tenor towards its perfection. She has in this long train of time achieved much—she has still much to do, but it is her own way and in God's good time, will she do it, I trust. But the other day, Hungary has been crushed by the combined arms of two iron giants, the Russian and the Austrian, and the brave exiles fled, conquered, but not subdued from their enslaved country and an ignominious death, and found protection in the territory and from the power of the Moslem. And when these frozen hearted tyrants of the north demanded of the Sultan, the Emperor of Constantinople, that they might be offered up on the scaffold, as a sacrifice to a bloody Moloch, and the Turk, for this barbarian requisition of christian King, though war was denounced against him; an

England stood forth and made with him an alliance, offensive and defensive, to arrest greater barbarians than he in their aggression upon his liberties and independence, and upon the rights of nations, of humanity and christian civilization, I could not read the story without my blood tingling in my veins. I thought of the lion-hearted Richard and Saladin—of their combats upon the field of death—of the union of their successors, and of the cause in which, and the powers against which, they were united; and my swelling heart could not withhold its tribute to England and Turkey. In such passages as those, what American does not proudly feel

Mr. President, I have some documents and facts in addition, to show with what system many European states are throwing upon us their destitute and refuse population. I have not time to present them all, but I will a portion. In England, Ireland, Switzerland, Saxony, Bavaria, Swabia, Brunswick, Hanover, and other states, those operations are carried out upon a large scale.

In 1843, a society, composed of wealthy individuals of London and Dublin, was formed for the objects: "1st. To send into the western states of America the surplus population of Britain, Ireland, and the continent. 2d. To open a new market for British manufactures. 3d. To extend and to consolidate the Roman Catholic religion in the United States."

The accredited immigrant agent at Montreal, in a report bearing date 1-8-41, says, "of 9,307 Irish paupers 4,625 came up the St. Lawrence along the borders of New York."

"The commissioners of the poor in England recommended that parliament pass an act authorizing the different parishes in England to raise money for the purpose of sending the most vicious and worthless of their parishioners, such as are irreclaimable, out of that country to America." So says Niles' Register. A few towns in England raised the sum of \$11,220 to defray the expenses of three hundred and twenty paupers to this country.

In an official letter from our consul, F. List, from Leipzig, to the secretary of the treasury, he says: "Mr. De Stein, formerly an officer in the Prussian army, has been here, and has lately made propositions to the smaller German states of Saxony, for transporting their criminals to the port of Bremen, and embarking them from thence for the United States, at \$75 per head, and \$100 per head for the cost of the voyage of them. The first transport of criminals, who, for the greater part, have been condemned to hard labor for life, (among them two notorious robbers, Friber and Allbrecht,) will leave Bremen in a few days, and will be immediately attended by, and by, to empty all the work-houses and jails in this manner. There is little doubt that several other states will initiate the nefari-

The practice of Baltimore, in a letter to the President, said, "that fourteen criminals from Bremen had been hanged there. They were shipped in irons which were not taken off till they were near Fort M'Henry." I could bring forward, Mr. President, a volume of evidence to the same effect. In corroboration of the general conclusions to which it leads all unprejudiced minds, the annual report of the alms-house of the city of New York, in a report of 1843, says: "There are not more than one fourth of the immigrants who come to this country who possess the means to obtain a comfortable support for themselves and their families on their arrival here. Most of them, of course, are disposed to rely on their own resources as they can obtain employment, cease to be paupers. But many of them are unable, and more still of them indisciplined, and who never will work. But this source of pauperism is a constant and ever increasing stream. Of one thousand two hundred persons admitted in the year 1843, into the hospital, one hundred and six only were bona fide Americans, and the remainder, five hundred and thirty two, paupers, from the almshouse, and the penitentiary, and the workhouse, and the city jail, and the business of the city, and the almshouse amounting to the sum of \$1,000,000." 085. The number of paupers in the United States in 1830, was calculated at one hundred and three thousand one hundred and eight, and the number of foreign immigrants that year was only thirty thousand two

lilt twenty-four by the custom house
 and lilt twenty per cent, for those not rep-
 resented by the thirty-six thousand two hun-
 dred and sixty-six. And, as the number of
 the numerous spawn of foreign immigration,
 many of the immigrants of former years were
 paupers in 1830; and as the total number in the
 United States for that year, was one hundred
 and twenty thousand one hundred and seventy
 eight, how much more numerous, and how much
 increased when immigration has increased ten-
 fold. The gentleman from Jefferson, (Mr. Mc-
 wether), told us in a speech a few days since,
 which seemed to be very carefully prepared,
 that the paupers in Boston at the present
 time are about eight thousand. Neither
 Massachusetts nor the New York, nor the
 Lazar-houses of American pauperism. The peo-
 ple of the old Bay State all work and are gen-
 erally thrifty; and Boston, or any of her harbors,
 are not the great highways of immigration.
 The great streams are through New York, New
 Orleans, and Mobile, and the New York ports,
 foreigners seek other localities than Massachusetts.
 The present permanent average number of
 foreign paupers in the United States, must exceed
 two hundred and fifty thousand; and according to
 the rate of cost of the paupers of Massachusetts,
 they must produce a charge of up to \$1,000,000.
 The amount paid towards them by private
 charity, in all its forms, is large, and the grand
 total not less, but much more than \$6,000,000.
 What a tax this matter brings upon our people,
 and how our native born are often deprived
 of their fair right to the property of their coun-
 try, by the enormous demand upon it by aban-
 doned foreigners! I have seen the reports of some years ago, from
 the principal cities of the United States; and
 the proportion between the native and foreign
 classes of paupers were about the same exhibit-
 ing the same ratio. The city of New York
 and showed that "warrants for the removal
 out from the hospitals, and other eleemosynary
 institutions, those who lead the first right to be
 there, Americans by birth—men who, or whose
 ancestors, took possession of this land when it
 was a hunting and wilderness, reared in its cities and
 towns, and collected the fruits of their citizenship
 in the living God—opened and cultivated the
 teeming fields, fought for and established its
 liberties, upheld its institutions in our days of
 weakness, trial and peril—all of which is, now
 that we are strong and rich, coveted and almost
 torn from them. The whole of this, the fair
 heritage belongs first and chiefly to the
 native, and it his right to claim, and the
 of the government to protect it, to keep him in
 its peaceful, secure, and permanent enjoyment,
 and, so far as it may be necessary to those ends
 to ward off the foreigner. It is his duty to share
 the land, only to the extent of his safety and the
 proper enjoyment of it will allow.

I have in my possession, Mr. President, numerous official reports, some made to both houses of Congress and others made to the authorities of some of the Atlantic cities, all tending to show extensive and flagitious invasion of the elective franchise by the foreigners; and the abuses to which it is subjected by unprincipled men through, often, their unwitting agency—for vast numbers of them are made the dupes and tools of more designing and worse men than themselves. Before every general election, thousands of them, but just arrived in the

AN ORDINANCE
To lay off the City of Frankfort into Wards.
SEC. 1. Be it ordained by the Board of Councilmen of the City of Frankfort, that the City be, and the same is hereby, laid off into seven Wards, and each Ward be embraced within the following limits, viz:
The First Ward—Beginning at the Kentucky river at the end of Washington street, and running thence along the West side of said street to its intersection of the end of Broadway street, and thence along the South side of the river, and thence with the river to the beginning.

The Second Ward—Beginning at the Kentucky river at the end of Broadway street, and running thence along the North side of said street to the center of the Capitol Square, and thence North through said square to St. Clair street, and thence along the West side of said street to the Hill, and thence along the foot of the Hill, West to the river, and thence with the river to the beginning.

The Third Ward—Beginning at the Kentucky river at the end of Washington street, and running thence along the East side of said street to its intersection of Broadway street, and thence along the South side of the intersection of St. Clair, and thence along the West side of St. Clair street, and thence with the river to the beginning.

The Fourth Ward—Beginning at the Bridge, and running thence with the East side of St. Clair street to its intersection of Montgomery street, and thence along the South side of Montgomery to its intersection of High street, and thence along the West side of High street to the corner of St. Clair, and thence with the river to the beginning.

The Fifth Ward—Beginning at the North East corner of Montgomery street, and running thence along the North side of Montgomery to High street, and thence along the West side of High street, and thence along the West side of High street to the corner of St. Clair, and thence with the river to the beginning.

The Sixth Ward—Beginning at the North West corner of High and Broadway streets, and thence along the North side of Broadway to the center of the Capitol Square, and thence North through said square to St. Clair street, and thence along the West side of said street to the Hill, and thence along the foot of the Hill, West to the river, and thence with the river to the beginning.

The Seventh Ward—Beginning at the Kentucky river at the end of Washington street, and running thence along the East side of said street to its intersection of Broadway street, and thence along the South side of the intersection of St. Clair, and thence along the West side of St. Clair street, and thence with the river to the beginning.

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Collegiate and Military Institute.

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